And Now An Anti-Missile Gap? Pps. 2-3

We Certainly Hope These Grave Fears Are Well-Founded

"The peace party always wins. I know my own party. If the war is still going on in '68, there is no power on earth can keep them from trying to outbid the Democrats for the peace vote." *—Nixon's "warning" in New York Nov. 11.*

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Will Defeat Sober Up Rock Johnson?

Goldwaterism has now lost two elections—for the Republicans in 1964 and the Democrats in 1966. This is a sweeping over-simplification. But the element of truth in it is essential if the Republicans are not to win in 1968. It is not easy to sum up the last election. In one way it was lifeless; it could make one despair to see a free country hold an election in which the main issues were hardly mentioned. How does one sum up results so diverse that Goldwater's heir apparent could win the Governorship in California and his leading Republican opponent be reelected Governor of New York, in which racially moderate Republicans won over Democrats in Arkansas and Tennessee while both parties competed in racism in Alabama and Georgia, and the Auto Workers machine went down to defeat in Michigan? In which white backlash unseated Douglas in Illinois but a Negro Senator was elected in Massachusetts? After a compaign in which Eastland and Hale Boggs were attacked by Republicans in Mississippi and Louisiana as Leftists while the GOP's foremost dove won a Senate seat from Oregon in the only contest where Vietnam was *the* issue? If ever there was a political crazy quilt, this is it.

If There Were No War

The issue few mentioned, on which most people are confused, was nevertheless crucial. Almost everything which ailed the Democratic party in this election and caused its shattering defeat, can be traced back to the war, *Johnson's war*. If Johnson had not done what Goldwater advocated and stepped up the whole scale of the conflict by launching an air war against the North and a major invasion by American land forces in Asia, there would have been no inflation, no disruption of the home building market, no loss of business confidence so great that the stock market plummeted while the price level rose. There would have been no split in Democratic ranks, no alienation of the peace-minded like that which helped swamp Brown in California and has brought Johnson the hatred of many who would otherwise applaud his domestic program. There would be few doves and there would be few hawks if the war were still a distant conflict simmering away in Southeast Asia. It is Johnson's war which was Johnson's undoing.

This might be dismissed as largely the wishful thinking of one who is deeply opposed to the war if it were not the opinion of others as deeply committed to it. Nixon, who has wanted large-scale American intervention in Vietnam since 1954, the man who emerged from the campaign with the best record for sizing up its cross-currents in advance, was expressing his fears not his hopes when he said (see box above) that if the war is still going on in 1968 "there is no power on earth" which can keep his own party "from trying to outbid the Democrats for the peace vote." It was not wishful thinking which made the pro-war *U.S. News & World Report* report (Nov. 14) "Politicians in both parties are saying Mr. Johnson will need to get the war ended by or before mid-1968, or he'll have a hard time getting elected." Even the hawks are unhawklike in that they have no enthusiasm for the war; they want it over as quickly as possible. This is very different from the jingoism of the British in the comparable Boer war or the ethnocentric militarism of the Germans. It is the impatience of a people who regard war as an unfortunate interruption of their main business which is *business*. If Johnson does not heed this message, the Republicans will. Many of us will see a Republican victory again—as in 1952—the only way to end an Asian war. The price will be the end of that progress on the home front which began under Kennedy and took on real momentum under Johnson before he made his error in February, 1965, in the skies over North Vietnam. Even another interlude of social stagnation and lackluster leadership would not be too high a price to pay for peace if Johnson does not change course.

A Forecast to Remember Now

"Shortening the war to the order of five years could require anywhere from half a million to 2 million U.S. troops with casualties and treasure of like magnitude. . . . The Vietnamese could lose more than a million killed. . . . The risk of Chinese entry into the war could increase sharply if the Communists were faced . . . by a truly massive U.S. presence there. . . . If we decided that we must limit our commitment in Vietnam even at the price of our objectives . . . we would have to face the strong possibility that, as happened at the time of Korea, a change in policy in Vietnam would have to be brought about by a change of Administration in the United States."

—"The Impossible Choices in Vietnam", declassified version of a study by S. J. Deitchman, Institute for Defense Analyses, a Pentagon "think factory", in the Washington Post *May 22. This "computerized" military forecast, the most comprehensive available, estimated that at the then level of operations (235,000 U.S. troops) the war "would last" 20 to 30 years. It did not say which side, if either, would win.*

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Is the Military-Industrial Complex Launching An Anti-Missile Gap . . .

It is not easy to determine whether Secretary McNamara's announcement that the Soviet Union is deploying an anti-ballistic missile system is designed to defend us from onslaught by the Russians, or to shield Johnson and McNamara from an anti-ballistic missile "gap" campaign by the Republicans and the Joint Chiefs of Staff when Congress reconvenes.

Those correspondents who cover the Pentagon seem to think it's the latter. Wm. Beecher (*New York Times,* Nov. 11) interpreted the McNamara statement as "an Administration effort to stave off potentially overwhelming Congressional pressure" for a U.S. anti-missile system by announcing that we would equip our nuclear submarine fleet with a new missile, Poseidon, far more powerful than the Polaris, and easily able to overwhelm any anti-missile defenses the Russians could build. Similarly Murray Marder (*Washington Post,* Nov. 13) said "McNamara was developing insurance against charges that the U.S. is falling behind in the missile race."

Romney Scents An Issue

Signs of the coming battle were evident in Romney's appearance on *Meet the Press* (Nov. 13). Though the rubbery Governor was able flexibly to turn up on several sides of every question put to him, he zeroed in on this one. He said that while the Democrats in the 1960 campaign made a supposed missile gap one of their main talking points, McNamara has "just confronted us with a problem of probably equal seriousness in indicating that Russia now has an anti-ballistic missile and we don't have one. . . ." He added, with his happy capacity for not realizing quite what he was saying, that "perhaps we have a gap in this respect now as a result of the mismanagement of these Democratic administrations that is comparable to the missile gap that proved to be a myth."

If the anti-missile gap is comparable to the missile gap, it will also turn out to be a myth, but not before it has cost the country billions, as did the missile gap and before it the bomber gap. There is reason to believe the anti-missile gap may be just as phoney. The headlines generated by McNamara's statement has given the public the impression that Soviet cities are already ringed with anti-missile defenses. Gen. McConnell, the Air Force Chief of Staff, chimed in with a speech in Birmingham Nov. 11 in which he said, "A major technological break-through, such as development of an effective anti-missile defense, could conceivably induce an aggressor to wage nuclear war in the conviction that he could do so with virtual impunity." We can already see our retaliatory missiles "hung up" harmlessly in the skies over the Soviet Union, in true Buck Rogers fashion, while the Russians attack us "with virtual impunity." When the campaign warms up, it will foster this popular notion of an anti-missile as a kind of gadget that can turn off an incoming missile much as those new TV switches enable one to shut off *Open Mind* for *Wagon Train* without having to walk across the room to the idiot box.

Not only are no such miraculous devices in sight but there is no evidence that we have actually detected any of the existing kinds of inadequate anti-missiles around Soviet cities. All we have actually observed (see box below) is that certain sites have been cleared and structures prepared outside some unnamed Russian cities. This *might* mean that the Russians were getting ready to deploy missiles. Reports that the Russians were installing anti-missiles around their cities have been cropping up in print for at least three and a half years, but none have yet been detected by the multitude of satellites we have photographing the Soviet Union night and day. Unconfirmed "leaks" of this kind from Air Force intelligence set off the bomber gap and later the missile gap hysterias.

The *Washington Star* seems to have published the first of these anti-missile gap reports back in March, 1963. Its Pentagon correspondent, Richard Fryklund, noted (Nov. 11) that while Khruschev boasted that the Russians had a rocket which

Uncle Sam, The Guerrilla's Friend

"When allied troops overrun an encampment of the Viet Cong or the PAVN (People's Army of North Vietnam) they usually find rice, sometimes in AID sacks, medicine with American brand names and tools. . . . At Ba Hao, 50 miles from Saigon, the U.S. 196th Light Infantry Brigade recently captured a Viet Cong camp and uncovered . . . more than a million and a quarter pounds of AID rice, 440 gallons of gasoline, 600 gallons of cooking oil, 88 shovels, 750 pounds of rice. The bags of rice, enough to feed a Viet Cong division for two months, still bore the names of the American exporters."

—First of six AP articles from Saigon on the corruption there in the Washington Sunday Star *Nov. 13.*

"Mostly circumstantial evidence is cited to support the theory that Communist China and North Vietnam are involved directly in the terrorism [in Thailand]. Captured weapons are mainly American made."

—AP from Thailand in Washington Star *Nov. 9.*

Maybe the fastest way to wipe out guerrilla activity would be to shut off U.S. aid.

McNamara Provides Another Example of What Creates The Credibility Gap

Q. Mr. Secretary did you say that the Soviets were deploying an anti-ballistic missile system?

McNamara: Yes, I believe there is considerable evidence that they are.

Q. Is it an effective system, sir?

McNamara: I think you would have to ask them.

—At the LBJ ranch (transcript in Wash. Post *Nov. 11).*

"Pentagon officials stressed that Russia does not have a lot of missiles sitting on launchers ready to down any incoming missiles. The evidence instead shows the kind of activity which precedes widespread deployment, such as clearing sites or building structures. This is the third time in about five years Russia has shown signs of deploying an ABM system around its cities. The two earlier efforts were abandoned, presumably because of technical difficulties. But McNamara's announcement indicates he believes Russia is going all the way into deployment this time. However, Pentagon officials caution that deployment of an ABM system, either by the U.S. or Russia, is no overnight process."

—Geo. C. Wilson in Washington Post, *Nov. 12.*

"Seven months ago U.S. officials reported that Russia had started to build anti-missile facilities but quit—apparently because of construction difficulties."

—AP in the Baltimore Sun, *Nov. 12.*

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. . . Like the Phoney Bomber and Missile Gaps So Profitable to It In The Past?

could "hit a fly" in the sky, the Kremlin's military seem to have more sober views. "There are many signs," Fryklund wrote, "that Soviet leaders themselves are not sure such a system is worth the money." He pointed out that "there have been considerable delays in building the rudimentary ABM systems now *believed* to be installed around Moscow and Leningrad." (Our italics.) What if the Russians are doing what McNamara himself has suggested, building some anti-missiles to cope with any danger from China while recognizing that it is useless to deploy even a far more complex system against the kind of sophisticated missiles we and the Russians possess?

Anti Anti-Missile Devices

The idea of the anti-missile was that by swiftly determining an incoming missile's trajectory we could send up an anti-missile to hit and destroy it in outer space. So both sides have been developing missiles that can change their trajectory, confuse the defenses with a shower of decoys and blackout the radars and computers on which the fantastically complex anti-missile gadgetry depends. Apparently we already have such tricky warheads in our own arsenal, penetration devices the Defense Department insists "absolutely guarantee [as George C. Wilson wrote in the *Washington Post* Nov. 12] that U.S. ICBMS like Poseidon and Minutemen can get through any defense." If this is true, why stir up panic about Soviet anti-missile defenses which may or may not be in process of construction?

"Today," the Irish delegate Frank Aiken told the First Committee during its debates on non-proliferation at the UN Nov. 3, "we all live in the shadow of a strategic balance founded upon the present equilibrium between the leading nuclear powers and their alliances. This equilibrium rests not only on the extent of their stockpiles but on the existing standard of accuracy and penetration of their delivery systems." He quoted U Thant's warning that "a unilateral breakthrough by one of these Powers in either offensive or defensive nuclear weapon capability" could "lead at once to a new and greatly accelerated nuclear arms race."

We stand on the threshold of just such a race. The deployment of Poseidon will stimulate a similar stepup in offensive power on the other side. If we begin to build the Nike-X anti-missile system, the Russians must reply with bigger missiles and we with deeper blast shelters. Fryklund called Nike-X "potentially the most expensive weapon the world has ever seen." It would cost anywhere from $20 to $50 billions, the biggest bonanza ever offered the military-industrial complex. It may protect Johnson from the Republicans and McNamara from the Joint Chiefs of Staff but it will end the present period of relative relaxation between East and West and set off a spiral of growing suspicion and mutual peril.

The military see an endless arms race as "a peace race"—so Gen. McConnell termed it. The plane and missile makers see the problem as if they were building automobiles—every year there ought to be new models to maintain sales. So now after Polaris A-1, A-2 and A-3 we have Poseidon. They won't be satisfied even with two missiles in every garage. The average American, too, tends to see defense in the same terms, as if weapons were another form of consumer durables to be produced by mass production—conveniences we just can't have too many of, like washing machines and electric cocktail mixers.

(This is the third of four articles. Conclusion next week.)

Missiles Next in Vietnam?

"The heavy losses of U.S. jet aircraft over North Vietnam have caused the Pentagon to examine the use of ballistic missiles, and even battleships, to shell targets in North Vietnam. The main advantage would be that the anti-aircraft guns in North Vietnam would offer no defense against shells or ballistic missiles. The high level of anti-aircraft fire has already brought down more than 400 American jet aircraft over North Vietnam. The U.S. Navy is keen to reactivate cruisers with 8-inch guns to fire on North Vietnam. The economics of bringing one of the four battleships out of mothballs has also been studied. . . .

The U.S. Army also believes that it could carry on with the bombardment of North Vietnamese targets with ballistic missiles fired from South Vietnam. The arguments in favor of missiles have been reinforced by the losses of aircraft, which must have cost the U.S. at least £300m. ($840,000,000) since the bombing began last year.

—*Defense Correspondent, London* Times, *Nov. 12.*

A Nazi for Chancellor? We Ought to Be Glad Adolf's Unavailable for Renomination!

That a former Nazi could be nominated Chancellor of Germany should surprise no one. A number of recent items show how little the mentality of most Germans has changed. One was the death of Gen. Dietrich von Chotlitz, who surrendered Paris instead of burning it down. To have destroyed Paris would have been another of the Reich's unforgiveable crimes. One would have thought that the Germans would have been grateful to von Chotlitz for refusing, in the last hopeless hours of the war, to carry out a half-mad Fuehrer's orders to destroy that treasured city. Instead von Chotlitz was snubbed by his fellow officers while a POW in Clinton, Miss. and ostracized in Germany when he returned.

A second item was the interview given the German weekly, Der Spiegel, by Albert Speer, the architect who became Hitler's Armaments Minister. Speer has just been released from Spandau as a war criminal. Speer said he became disillusioned with Hitler in 1944 when "I suddenly realized that he had a monstrously fat nose." In 1944 in the smoking ruins of Germany and Europe Speer couldn't find any better reason for his dillusion and two decades later he's naive enough to admit it! Only German soil grows quite such splendid dummkopfs.

A third item concerns jolly Hermann Goering. One of the Reich's most widely circulated weeklies has begun to publish the memoirs of his widow, Emma. The memoirs are bathed in goo. They tell how Hermann asked Emma "Do you want me to appeal for mercy?" and his widow said, "No, Hermann, you can now die in peace." Emma wrote that when the family heard he had hung himself in his cell, his daughter said "I know, Mommy, how he got the poison. An angel pushed aside the ceiling of the cell and dropped the capsule to him." We can just see good Germans shedding tears over their blutwurst as they read this.

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Time to Stop Postponing A Peace Settlement Between Arab and Israeli

Every unsettled border is a powder keg. The borders between Israel and its Arab neighbors, like those between East and West Germany, North and South Korea, North and South Vietnam, Taiwan and mainland China, may set off wider conflicts at any time. The cold war has developed the dangerous habit of leaving borders to military truce lines, ducking the always difficult task of negotiating peace. The U.S. opposes Israeli reprisals, as it has French and British in Tunisia and Aden respectively in recent years, but our giant air raids on North Vietnam are the worse example of reprisal the world has seen since Guernica, and with much less provocation than that suffered by the Israelis. The Soviet Union, playing up to the Arabs (as the oil company-prone State Department would also like to do), vetoed a Security Council resolution warning Syria against recent terrorist raids into Israel. The urgent lesson is the need to bring Arab and Israeli to the conference table and negotiate a general settlement, including compensation and resettlement for Arab refugees. Until that is done, the Middle East—as in the Suez crisis—remains a spark that could ignite a third world war.

Free Speech, But No Tumults?

For years, Black and Douglas dissenting, like Holmes and Brandeis dissenting before them, have been twin pillars of civil liberties on the Supreme Court. The growing split between them on civil rights cases has now culminated in a 5-to-4 decision by Black, upholding—for the first time—the conviction of peaceful civil rights demonstrators. Last February Black was with a minority of four which would have upheld the conviction of "psalm-singing" Louisiana Negroes who demonstrated in a segregated library. This time he marshalled a majority of five to uphold the conviction of 33 Florida A & M students who demonstrated peacefully on the Tallahassee jail grounds to protest the arrest of other students for trying to desegregate local theatres. Black, with Harlan, Stewart, White and Clark upheld their arrest for "trespass." Douglas, with Warren, Brennan and Fortas, protested that public authorities could always find excuses of this kind to curtail the right of peaceable assembly, citing William Penn's arrest in London in 1610 after a nonconformist sermon, on the ground that he had caused "a tumult." Black's sympathy, too, seems to flag when dissent becomes tumultous.

A group of liberals ought to file a mock protest with the Federal Trade Commission against that full page ad in the *New York Times* (Nov. 14) and many other papers headed "Liberals Support China Policy," opposing Peking's admission to the United Nations. This was a prime example of fraudulent packaging. The only real liberal on it was Douglas of Illinois, always a staunch stooge for the China lobby. Among the signers were George Meany, the non left-leaning plumber who keeps the AFL-CIO securely to the right of Johnson as he did of Eisenhower in foreign policy; his bargain basement Richelieu, the ex-Communist Jay Lovestone; Benjamin Mandel, business manager of *The Daily Worker* in Lovestone's day and since then "research chief" for the Un-American Committee; O. K. Armstrong of "Reader's Digest," never before so identified as slightly pinko; Stanley Hornbeck, who was so far to the right in the State Department during the 30s that he wanted to appease Japan at the expense of Chiang Kai-shek's China, and Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé, the last of the Central European geopoliticians and geomancers now that Haushofer has passed away. Had *we* dared call any of these people liberals, we are sure they would have sued us for libel.

The Times Endorses Resistance to HUAC

". . . many students and many professors inevitably criticize the society in which they find themselves. . . . When this happens in Communist Hungary or Fascist Spain or Castro Cuba, most of us applaud the students and professors as fighters for freedom, as indeed they are. When it happens in Ann Arbor, Mich., or in Berkeley, Calif., not all of us are so enthusiastic—because the agitation is for things we don't believe in. Congressional committees are tempted to investigate. . . . The American Civil Liberties Union has now appealed to the nation's college and university presidents not to cooperate in these investigations and not to hand over membership lists of students organizations. . . . Freedom on campus is indivisible from freedom in the larger society."

—*Editorial in the* New York Times, *Nov. 15.*

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